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O, TO BE IN PARIS IN DECEMBER

NATO 'allies' snarl in disunity; some bar U.S. A-weapons

By Kumar Goshal

ON THE EVE of the Dec. 16 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) meeting, conflicts of interest among its members became more glaring than ever. European NATO members were desperately hoping that the Great White Father from Washington would attend the meeting and resolve their unresolvable differences.

They hate Secy. of State Dulles and are wary of Vice President Nixon. They nostalgically recall World War II days when Gen. Eisenhower's greatest contribution was reconciling divergent allied viewpoints. But times have changed sharply since then.

During World War II the Soviet Union was an ally in facing a common enemy; then they compromised and composed their differences for a time. Today Washington insists that Moscow is "The Enemy" and U.S. allies dutifully echo the line; but none of the allies believes—and all of them have so stated at one time or another—that the Soviet Union plans to attack them. In fact, they have complained more bitterly against the policies of the U.S. and Dulles than against the policies of the Soviet Union.

IN THE BEGINNING . . . : The U.S. spawned NATO in 1949 ostensibly as a "military shield" for the Atlantic community against "possible Soviet aggression." Then Greece and Turkey—by no stretch of the imagination a part of the Atlantic community — were included. This showed that NATO was the main link in a global chain formed to restore and maintain and even extend the prewar strength and possessions of the Western powers. This was the real purpose behind the phrase "containment of communism."

But this attempt to restore the prewar status in the Middle and Far East and in Africa brought to the surface the conflicts in NATO as each member tried to enlist the support of the others in its own behalf. As Walter Lippmann wrote (11/19): "Each of the great powers is disposed to feel that in the outside area where it is most concerned, it is entitled to expect the support of all the other NATO allies, whether or not they are directly concerned."

The U.S., for example, resented lack of support for its Korea, Formosa and China policy; France resented U.S. failure to "underwrite the whole of French policy in North Africa;" Britain and France felt the U.S. "acted contrary to the spirit of the alliance in the Suez affair last year."

YOU DID — I DIDN'T: In the post-sputnik period, the conflicts have threatened to tear NATO apart. Desperate conferences among premiers and foreign ministers have been unavailing. France is sore at Britain and the U.S. over the

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O, GOD, ANOTHER WEEK OF IT WITH FOSTER!

British Prime Minister Macmillan, with trouble enough at home, sets out for the NATO meeting in Paris where Secy. Dulles will seek to persuade Washington's allies to try to blow themselves to Kingdom Come.

HIGH TRAGEDY AT CAPE CANAVERAL

Two--one--zero--ignition--Take-off--explosion--Nuts!

By Elmer Bendiner

AT CAPE CANAVERAL on Dec. 6, Dr. J. Paul Walsh, deputy director of the Navy's Vanguard satellite project, was telephoning an historic eyewitness account of the rocket launching to his chief, Dr. John P. Hagen, in Washington. This was the exchange:

—WALSH: "Two—One—Zero—Ignition—Take-off — — Explosion!"

HAGEN: "Nuts!"

The explosion, four feet off the ground, of the rocket that was to have taken a satellite the size of a soft-ball into outer space, produced a guffaw heard 'round the world. Its timing, on the eve of the NATO conference and almost on the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, gave the fiasco an acid point. The elaborate suspenseful publicity build-up—which some thought excessive considering the miniature size of the U.S. satellite compared to the two Russian sputniks—reduced the climax to slapstick.

WILL HEADS ROLL? The Hartford Courant called it "one of the major pratfalls of history." A British diplomat in Moscow consoled U.S. officials this way: "Never mind. Dunkirk was worse." The

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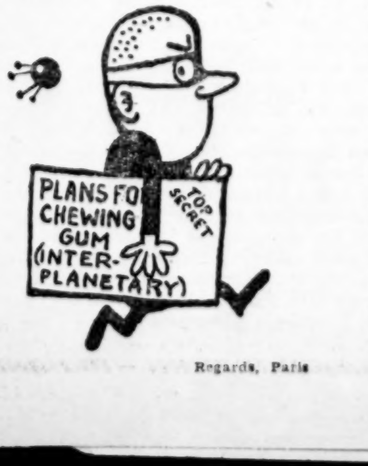

Regards, Paris

LABOR HEARS ITS LEGISLATIVE FUTURE

AFL-CIO convention: The great un-merging

By Lawrence Emery

THE MERGED LABOR MOVEMENT at its second constitutional convention in Atlantic City began to unmerge itself with the expulsion of its largest and most powerful affiliate, the teamsters, on charges that it is dominated by corrupt influences. Four other unions face the same treatment, all of them accused of corrupt practices by the McClellan Senate committee investigating labor. With these precedents set, the prospect loomed that with another year of probing scheduled, any union accused as corrupt would be exiled, with the AFL-CIO itself acting as the enforcement arm of an anti-labor Senate committee.

The convention was also presented with a package of legislation drafted by the Eisenhower Administration which would, in effect, bring the labor movement under closer government supervision than any Administration of modern times has dared to propose.

In addition, the federation was faced with internal jurisdictional disputes between its industrial and craft departments, with rumblings of eventual secession of the building trades unless the problem is settled to their satisfaction. It was this same jurisdictional warfare which led to the great split in the labor movement two decades ago.

APPEASEMENT? The teamster ouster came after reported last-minute midnight efforts to find a compromise failed. The vote was roughly four to one, with 95 unions voting for expulsion, 21 against. Four unions split their vote, and eight stayed away from the balloting. The roll-call tally was 10,458,598 to 2,266,497. All the unions opposing the ouster were formerly AFL, the former CIO unions were solid for expulsion.

In floor debate on the teamster issue a half-dozen union officials charged the AFL-CIO high command with dictatorship and hypocrisy and denounced what they called appeasement of the McClellan committee. Sal Hoffman, president of the Upholsterers union, warned: "Expulsion of the teamsters will not appease the enemies of labor—it will only whet their appetite for more."

PLAIN ENGLISH: Teamster secy.-treas. John F. English told the convention his union never forgets its friends but said its enemies can all "go straight to hell." He said he doubted that as many as five unions in the federation could meet the "acid test" applied to his union. Einar O. Mohn, teamster administrative vice-president, said after the ouster that "we're going to continue doing business pretty normally. We have no chips on our shoulders, but we are not going to play dead

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THE MAIL BAG

Powerful hearing-aid

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Reflecting upon the honor of sitting at the head table on the occasion of the GUARDIAN'S annual dinner, certain thoughts emerge:

Henry Thoreau once said: "Man only marches to the drums which he hears."

The function of journalism is to keep men abreast of an ever-changing world. In epoch-making eras such as we now experience, creative journalism seeks to keep men marching to the sounds of the drums of the onrushing future. To what goal?

In 1873, in a letter to his wife—in a time like the present when high winds of controversy were blowing, destined to change radically man's outlook—Thomas Huxley wrote:

"We are in the midst of a gigantic movement greater than that which preceded and produced The Reformation . . There is no reconcilement possible between free-thought and traditional authority. One or the other will have to succumb after a struggle of unknown duration which will have as side issues vast political and social troubles. I have no more doubt that free-thought will win in the long run than that I sit here writing you, or that free-thought will organize itself into a coherent system embracing human life as one harmonious whole."

One Harmonious Whole. Has that not been our main pursuit since we emerged from the caves of barbarism?

In this hour of decision, no English-language weekly has so brilliantly, so objectively thrown the searchlight into every corner of the globe by first-hand reporting as the GUARDIAN. More so, the GUARDIAN has been, and is, a powerful hearing-aid to the ever-quickening footsteps of the race marching to the drumbeats of singing tomorrows.

Clemens France

Rough on rats

CINCINNATI, O.

Myself and many of my friends were very much surprised when I recently received a subpena to appear before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Memphis, Tenn.

When I was asked if I had tried to set up a committee to keep in touch with the Communist Party, I laughed and took the First, Fifth, and Tenth Amendments. But, I said, "if I were to answer that question I would say: the person who told this lie was a prevaricator of the truth and his father was dead and his mother had never been married." The committee warned me that if I took the Amendments again and then answered the question they would demand that I answer without privilege of the Amendments.

Frankly, I believe the members of the Committee knew what I was going to say next: what Jack London said, "No person has the right to be a rat as long as there is a pool of water deep enough to drown in or a rope long enough to hang himself with." But, I believe, no woman should have to suffer the agony of childbirth to bring a stoolpigeon into this world.

Reuel Stanfield

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

El Salvador is the only Central American republic without major economic or political problems. But it is generally recognized that such problems could spring up very quickly because of the extreme disparity between the wealthy and the poor.

—N.Y. Times, 12/3

One year's free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. L., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Progress in Dixie

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Congratulations to the GUARDIAN on entering its tenth year of fighting for labor, desegregation and democracy. You've done a good job. The Nov. 4 issue carried a reprint of an article entitled "The Saga of Bollweevil J. Whitetrash." Please allow me to offer some friendly criticism.

The article [reprinted from the Charleston, S.C., **Gazette**] appears to be a parody against racism. I'm sure the author and the GUARDIAN intended it to be just that. But, unfortunately, many of the phrases used are inverted racism and snobbery. Terms like "hillbilly" and "whitetrash." The poor white in his poverty and ignorance is just as much a victim of the "Southern way of life" as is the Negro. Our job is to build a bridge of understanding between the victims.

We just can't write off as hopeless the 40 million white folks of the South. Thousands of them are seeking ways to build a more democratic Dixie. There is more social ferment in the South now than in the North. The future will certainly see progressive folks like ourselves vying for the minds of Southerners. If any of your readers, especially in the South, would like to keep in touch with progress in Dixie, let me recommend our **Southern Newsletter.**

Perry Cartwright,
Southern Newsletter
P.O. Box 1307

Atomic fusion

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

President Eisenhower's "partnership" policies ("private enterprise") have just received their second smashing kick in the pants before a world-wide audience. First, socialist Russia puts up two sputniks and sends them whirling round the globe. Now, Britain's publicly-owned and publicly-operated Atomic Energy Authority says it has achieved atomic fusion.

If the British announcement is true, every person outside the category of the criminally insane must shout with joy. For fusion means the death of the monstrous privately-owned atomic fision reactors in the U.S. and the terror of their radio-activity. It also spells good-bye to the government-subsidized and purely parasitic uranium-mining industry. It also means the end of wasting an important natural resource. For Britain, which according to the announcement, has utilized "pure deuterium" in its Authority experimentation, has produced this new supply of energy from "water"!

Where have Ike's "private enterprisers" been all this time?

Reuben W. Borough

Project Beercan

WORCESTER, MASS.

The Soviet Sputniks will be saying, "Beep, beep, beep," while our little "baseball" will be chirping, "Me to, me to, me too." No dog inside, either, though we might send up a cockroach, in a miniature space suit.

They can't beat the good old U.S.A. There is talk now that we may even shoot a beercan to the moon.

Belmont Sumner

Wall Street Journal

"As yet, there's no known cure but if you'd care to wait until after the morning mail delivery . . ."

Brinking song

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Oh, Ho, the Brink!
To the Brink I drink,
That's my favorite skating rink.

The sputniks may soar,
But I'll always roar
"To the Brink,"—it's as far
As I ever think.

I may not be too brainy,
But to me they're just plain zany
Who incline to think
Once over the Brink
We'll sink!

Maurice Becker

Spotnik

ERWIN, TENN.

At a recent three-day meeting of 250 scientists at Duke University (some were from Japan, Germany, France, England, Canada, Israel and the Netherlands) discussion of the new satellites brought forth two chief ideas: (1) a suggestion for the "Free World" to place, for propaganda value, a bright spot on the moon by means of a rocket—to be called 'spotnik'; and (2) a Japanese physicist wistfullly hoping that the "satellite program will have no relation to intercontinental missiles and war." The joker is that the meeting was sponsored by the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force.

Ernest Seeman

Wanted: a book

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A journalist friend in Europe is most anxious to obtain a copy of John Reed's **Insurgent Mexico.** Does any GUARDIAN reader have the book and, if so, will he be willing to sell it, or to lend it for a few months? It could be sent to me.

James Aronson,
197 E. 4th St.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL READERS

BEGINNING WITH JANUARY, the subscription price of NATIONAL GUARDIAN will be $5 a year, single copy 15c. The increase is compelled by rising production costs under which we can no longer maintain our $3 a year price. Our $1 introductory sub will continue for new readers on a 13-week basis.

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REPORT TO READERS

We get around

ON CERTAIN WELL-CHOSEN OCCASIONS, we of the GUARDIAN staff take the pleasurable opportunity of bringing the good wishes of our readers—this means you—to groups working for human betterment and common understanding. Last weekend, Dec. 6-7-8, provided two such opportunities:

● **In New York** an impressive cross-section of people gathered on Fri. eve., Dec. 6, to applaud A. J. Muste for his work in furthering political discussion on the basis of non-exclusion. The next day a much-expanded cross-section, numbering nearly 500, got together under the auspices of the American Forum—for Socialist Education, with Muste presiding, to discuss America's future in the age of automation and atomic energy. To the Friday event, John McManus brought your good wishes; at the Saturday gathering, editor Jim Aronson was moderator of the political action panel, one of five. The all-day conference will be summarized in subsequent issues of the GUARDIAN.

● **In Chicago** Dec. 7-8, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born rounded out 25 years of activity with a national conference which brought together some 300 delegates from both coasts and the midwest under the chairmanship of Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith. At the Saturday evening banquet at the Midwest Hotel, John McManus spoke for the GUARDIAN, of which most of the delegates are constant readers.

The ACPFB is the principal agency in our country seeking repeal of the Walter-McCarran immigration law and its replacement with a humane law assuring equal status with native-born for all Americans of foreign birth and a non-discriminatory policy of admitting newcomers to our country. As the chief defender of foreign-born under political attack, the ACPFB has come under violent governmental attack during the Cold War years.

The Committee may accept—and desperately needs—voluntary contributions, which may be sent to the ACPFB, 49 E. 21st St., New York 10.

The host to the ACPFB 25th anniversary conference—the Midwest Committee covering Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota—greeted the delegates with a resounding court victory in the case of Anthony P. Minerich, one of the editors of the Croatian newspaper **Narodni Glasnik.** The U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago on Dec. 5 threw out a denaturalization order against Minerich with a far-reaching decision which, unless reversed after a Supreme Court appeal by the government, goes far toward nullifying a retroactive feature of the 1952 Walter-McCarran law. This established as grounds for denaturaliation undisclosed membership in the Communist Party at any time of naturalization prior to the passage of the 1952 law. (See also p. 11.)

● **Chicago was still buzzing** over the way artist Rockwell Kent took the town by storm last month during a 5-day stop-over as chairman of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In between two most successful functions conducted by the Chicago Council, Kent was welcomed by Mayor Daley, addressed artist and educator groups and starred in several radio and TV interviews. In one of them he suggested that it might be a good idea for John Foster Dulles (who was speaking in Chicago the same night) to go aloft in our first **sputnik,** without a parachute. This brought a State Dept. rebuke to NBC and interviewer Jack Eigen. Next day Eigen offered Dulles equal time. No takers.

IN-THE-FAMILY: First, all of our thanks to the several hosts to GUARDIAN gatherings in the Bay Area of Calif.—"Roz" in San Francisco, the Wienermans in El Cerrito and the Vicklands in Oakland. Deep thanks also to artist Harriet Roudebush for her delicate etchings of well-known San Francisco scenes offered as rewards for contributions. You may buy an assortment of them for yourself for $1.25 each from the artist, 831 Oakland Av., Oakland.

Finally, the Guardian Buying Service Holiday Bazaar is going great guns, with by no means everyone heard from. Our Chittaprosad holiday cards are going, going, almost gone. Our children's books and Folkways and Weavers records are a tremendous hit with every customer we've heard from; our imported Indian Madras skirts and fabrics are already adorning figures, settees and picture windows coast to coast; the Polish peasant dolls are a national knockout; and for the very latest news about David and Igor Oistrakh's Bach Concerto in D (album advertised on p. 7), see Wilfred Burchett's dispatch on p. 5.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE GUNS PUT BUTTER ON THE PROFITEERS' TABLES

The multi-billion dollar missile grab

By Victor Perlo

THE WALL STREET-WASHINGTON plan for intensified military production is not limited to the $1-$2 billion of added spending reported in the press. The powerful promoters are not playing for any such small sum, but for a sum which could reach $10 billion in arms spending per year with an uncommon quotient of extra profits for the companies they own and control.

Steps are being taken to put over this huge program, while talk is limited to a minor one, in order to forestall a politically effective public outcry over the consequences. These are likely to be:

- Stopping the economic downturn **without** bringing a new boom, **without** solving the growing unemployment problem.
- Significantly higher taxes on the population.
- An accelerated rise in living costs, beginning in six months.
- A heightened danger of war.

AN OLD TRICK: The sneak-play tactic of getting a huge jump in armament funds is not original. On July 8, 1950, two weeks **after** the start of the Korean War, **Business Week** reported from Washington that a rise of a half-billion in the military budget was expected. The actual rise was 66 times that much!

Things are developing more slowly this time, and probably will not go so far, but the direction is the same. Since Sputnik, the talk has progressed from (a) reshuffling of funds with no added spending to (b) perhaps $1 billion per year to (c) $2 billion or more. But when Senator Byrd okays the $2 billion, as he has, the actual prospect is for a lot more.

The arms manufacturers had launched a campaign for higher spending even before Sputnik. They and their allies seized on this scientific achievement to make hot demands for missile funds. Big business views were divided, but by mid-November the decision was made. Calmer heads in the Administration were either out of Washington or were publicly attacked for refusing to panic. A "different circle of confidants" took over, and dictated President Eisenhower's decision sharply to accelerate military spending (**Business Week**, 11/23). Included prominently are John J. McCloy, chairman of Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank; Vice President Nixon, favorite of the Southern California aircraft manufacturers and long since accepted by Wall Street; and others similarly connected.

RUNNING FREE: The partial disparity between Dulles' foreign policy and the Humphrey-Wilson fiscal policy is resolved in favor of the former, and the leading role of the Rockefeller-oil interests in affairs of state is consolidated. We now have a powerful grouping of very wealthy, very reactionary big business interests running in the clear and aided by politicians ranging from Styles Bridges to Estes Kefauver.

SINCLAIR WEEKS
No fancy figure of speech

In prospect is a slow short-term rise in military dollar outlays, but a rapid rise in contracts let, to be translated into dollar spending later. Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) of the Ways and Means Committee anticipates $10 billion more in contract letting authority, and various press reports cite an expected one-third increase in the rate of contracts let in the remainder of this fiscal year. That is how an ultimate annual bill of $10 billion could shape up.

It comes with an economic drop already underway. Conditions for an early recovery are unfavorable—general industrial over-capacity, weakening of Western world economy, continued financial stress. Moreover, the specific forms of arms spending planned will have less industrial impact than past programs. The capacity for much larger arms spending is already in place, and the new "super-scientific" weapons permit the spending of incredible sums for comparatively little in basic materials and wage labor.

MORE TAXES: But $10 billion is a substantial sum and, according to the predominant estimate in financial circles, will be sufficient to stem the downturn. It may end some time in 1958, followed by a more or less level period, below recent peaks, with many industries still in trouble, and unemployment "stabilized" in the 4-5 million range.

Present tax schedules cannot finance more spending, especially with incomes declining. Congress will raise the debt ceiling, and one must expect a determined campaign to load at least $5 billion extra taxes on the population. Higher postage rates and excises are almost certain, and a revival of the Federal sales tax idea can be expected.

The $5 billion rise in annual military spending in 1956-57 sparked a 6% cost-of-living hike. The bigger rise planned can mean a redoubled dose of one-sided inflation, with monopolies the profiteers and consumers the victims. With continued high unemployment, chances of matching higher prices with higher wages will be curtailed.

THE PINCH IS ON: Commerce Secy. Weeks' talk of "guns instead of butter" is no longer a figure of speech. We have reached the ceiling of the area where higher arms spending brings tens of millions more income through jobs and overtime than it costs in higher taxes and prices. It will really pinch from here on.

But that is the least of it. The boundaries for base building, brink-balancing, and the like loom uncomfortably close. The most powerful businessmen, politicians of both major parties doing their bidding, and, most unhappily, key labor leaders, are promoting this totally synthetic, wholly unprovoked, 100% American, grave threat to world peace and human beings everywhere.

More and more responsible voices are raised for an opposite path. But the profiteers have the local initiative and have chosen the next battlefield in the coming session of Congress. Only a deluge of public protest can stop their multi-billion dollar grab with all its accompanying dangers; and permit a start to the cultivation of peaceful science, education, and better living generally.

By Jupiter, I'm Thor!

AFTER CHARLES E. WILSON took over the Defense Dept. in 1953, there was considerable criticism of his alleged favoritism to General Motors. When he left, the standing decision was to choose either the Thor or the Jupiter intermediate range missile.

The new Defense Secy., Neil McElroy, was listed by **Business Week** among those responsible for the shift to "guns instead of butter." He reversed the prior decision, and gave production contracts for **both** the Jupiter and the Thor, although neither is fully developed, and the Jupiter had just flubbed a test.

McElroy is known as a soap executive. His two other directorships are not well publicized. One is Chrysler, prime contractor for the Jupiter. The other is General Electric, second largest contractor on the Thor.

Herblock in Washington Post
"Watch where you aim those things?"

FIGHT AHEAD FOR STATE LAW

Jimcrow housing outlawed in N.Y.C.

By Louis E. Burnham

A SIGNIFICANT BREACH was made in the jimcrow wall surrounding New York's ghettos when the City Council on Dec. 5 passed the nation's first private housing anti-bias bill. The bill, sponsored by Democratic Majority Leader Joseph T. Sharkey and Councilmen Earl Brown and Republican Stanley M. Isaacs, prohibits discrimination based on race, creed or national origin in private multiple dwellings accommodating three or more families.

The Council's action ended a seven-month period of bitter debate and feverish mass campaigns. From the moment of its introduction last May 21 the measure became "one of the most hotly contested pieces of local legislation ever to be steered through the City Council" (N. Y. **Times**, 12/6).

For the bill were the major organizations and organs of influence in Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority group communities; a majority of the city's church bodies, civic groups and labor unions. The efforts of these anti-bias groups were coordinated by the State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, chaired by Algernon D. Block.

LAST GASP: On the other hand was a vociferous minority representing powerful real estate and banking interests. In the course of one of numerous Council hearings on the bill, James Andrews, spokesman for the Real Estate Board of N. Y., complained of "tyranny and communism." He exclaimed: "You are the fabric, the warp and woof of this bill! Twin prophets of iniquity, we reject you!" For this performance Councilman Brown called Andrews a "suave, psalm-singing hypocrite."

When the bill passed Andrews indicated time had not changed his dim view of integrated housing. The bill, he said, "will be tested in the highest courts because we believe that it violates the

fundamental rights of the owner of private property."

Immediate reaction of supporters of the bill was enthusiastic. Some councilmen called it "historic," others said that "its effects would be felt around the world." Black hailed it as a "firm commitment to the principle of non-discrimination in private housing." The **Times quoted** Roy Wilkins, natl. secy., of NAACP, as saying that "the new law over the years should assist in the integration of New York City's public schools."

NO PENALTIES: How keenly the effects of the bill will be felt by minority renters seeking housing in New York remains to be seen. The real estate lobby failed in its attempt to kill the measure, but it succeeded in stripping it of some of its most important features.

The original measure provided penalties up to $500 for balking landlords and vested the power to affix fines in the hands of the Commission on Intergroup Relations, a city administrative body. The bill as passed removes all penalties and restricts COIR's role to conciliation and mediation. COIR chairman Alfred J. Marrow complained that this action "would connote a public rebuke of the commission."

If the Commission's efforts fail, the complaint and its recommendation will be referred to a three-man Fair Housing Practices Board to be selected by the Mayor from a 12-member unsalaried panel. The board is empowered to issue subpenas and hold confidential hearings. If it, in turn, fails it may direct the City Corporation Counsel to initiate an action in the Supreme Court in the name of the city for enforcement of the law.

CO-OPS INCLUDED: In N. Y. City the Supreme Court is actually a court of first instance, an inferior court. It is likely that a landlord faced with a court order to obey the law will appeal to the Appellate Division and, if necessary, to the State Supreme Court. Observers point to the time that may be consumed in processing a complaint through this administrative and judicial machinery as one of the major weaknesses of the bill. They ask: what about a decent place for the complainant to live while his grievance is going through the works?

Another target of the landlord battalions was the provision including co-operative apartments in the bill. They wanted these exempted, but on this score they lost. Frank Horne, exec. secy. of COIR, described the co-op houses as "the hard core of residential anti-Semitism in N. Y. city," at one of the Council hearings.

BATTLES AHEAD: Officials estimate that the new bill, which takes effect April 1, 1958, will cover 1,787,000 apartments and more than 5,000,000 New Yorkers, the vast majority of whom are apartment renters. Untouched by its provisions are the huge apartment house and single-family developments which are mushrooming in the suburbs outside the city limits.

Supporters of the bill, therefore, accept their victory as the first step in a continuing campaign. Ahead, they see a three-pronged battle to: (1) Achieve maximum enforcement under the present provisions of the law; (2) Secure any amendments which experience reveals to be necessary; (3) Launch a renewed campaign for a similar law in the 1958 session of the State Legislature.

A WAY OFF THE MERRY-GO-ROUND

How Britain can say 'No' to Washington and war

By K. Zilliacus
Labour Member of Parliament
LONDON

ON NOV. 5, Secy. Dulles made the spine-chilling suggestion that the mid-December NATO Conference should unite the NATO powers' armed forces under American command, even without agreement on foreign policy. Premier Macmillan seems ready to accept that position. But not so many of his followers, nor the Labour Party and its supporters.

For military unity under U.S. command without foreign policy agreement would simply mean the U.S. could plunge us into war in pursuit of a foreign policy with which we disagreed, without our having any say in the matter.

TORIES AGREE WITH U.S.: The alternative is just as bad: if the NATO powers agree to a joint foreign policy, that policy will be made in Washington. For the U.S. is so much the biggest, strongest and richest member of the alliance, and the others, so long as they remain on a war footing with the Soviet Union, are so dependent on American hand-outs and protection, that they have to accept the U.S. as their pay-master and task-master.

Vicky in London Daily Mirror
"Dreadfully sorry, Boss—I seem to have discovered a cure for the common cold by mistake."

That is O.K. with the die-hard Tories in the government, headed by Macmillan himself. They do not mind taking orders from Washington because they share the basic purpose of U.S. domestic and foreign policy: to make the world safe for Wall Street (and the City of London) under the guise of defending it against communism.

For this purpose they have tied this country to Anglo-American cold war aims that make impossible any settlement with the Soviet Union in Europe or the Middle East and any agreement with China in the Far East. Their policies are interventionist and aggressive, treat the UN Charter and the Statute of the International Court as scraps of paper, and condemn us to a nuclear arms race until it either breaks down in economic collapse or blows us all up with H-bombs.

BUDGET CUT NEEDED: In short, our Tories defend the old order abroad with the same blind ruthlessness that they are defending the old order at home by methods that are, fitfully but remorselessly, bringing on a head-long collision with the workers.

Labour, on the other hand, knows it is shortly coming into power. It is uneasily but increasingly aware of the fact that none of Labour's domestic promises about ending conscription, stopping inflation, holding prices steady, etc., are worth the paper they are written on—unless the next Labour Government cuts the defense budget by a half or two-thirds, as a matter of sheer economic necessity. This will require a major change in foreign policy.

Labour seems committed to these changes. Our shadow Foreign Secretary Aneurin Bevan, for example, announced on his return from Russia that Moscow wants peace and dreads war as much as we do. On Oct. 28 he told a New York businessmen's club that the West misjudged events in the Soviet Union and was mistaken in its strategy toward communism. Communism was a social and economic challenge, he said, and the alleged military threat from the Soviet Union did not exist.

LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY: The Party's last leader—Clem Attlee—told Commons on March 14, 1955, that "we should try to bring together the U.S. and the Soviet Union, because the greatest danger in the world is . . . that the U.S.S.R. fears the U.S. and the U.S. fears the U.S.S.R.—and fear is a bad counsellor." Bevan at the Brighton Labour Party Conference in October took the same view.

The foreign policy Labour's leaders have been constrained to accept supports this view. It proposes: (1) German reunification within the UN and an all-European treaty based on the UN Charter, accompanied by an agreement on armaments reduction and control and withdrawal of foreign forces from the territories of Germany and her neighbors; (2) cooperation with the U.S.S.R. as well as the U.S. through the UN, an arms embargo and maintenance of peace in the Middle East and economic and technical aid to its people; (3) China's seat in the UN be given to Peking; Chiang to be eased out of the UN and Formosa as a preliminary to the settlement of Far Eastern problems.

But Labour's leaders show few signs of intending to carry out the policies, or of realizing that they are diametrically opposed to those of the U.S. and can prevail only if we ultimately succeed in changing American policy. By supporting continued manufacture of H-bombs, Bevan not only confused and divided the Left, but put the Party in the position of saying that we shall go on taking part in the arms race we admit we cannot afford, in order to manufacture weapons we say it would be insane and suicidal to use, against a danger we declare does not exist.

"THINKING AGAINST MADNESS": The Left in the Labour Party says that's a ludicrous and shameful position. It represents, not political realism but a compromise between the Right and the Left. The Right is strong in the leadership but weak in the rank and file; it accepts Conference decisions on paper without intending to fulfill them; it agrees with the Tory views on foreign policy and defense. The Left knows that Labour will fail disastrously at home if it has not the courage to carry out its foreign policy pledges—apart from the constant risk of a nuclear holocaust.

An H-bomb campaign committee comprising some Labour MP's is organizing meetings, day schools, etc., to give a lead to public opinion.

KONNI ZILLIACUS
If Labour really plugs the line

We are campaigning to commit the Labour Party to the policy of (1) putting forward our proposals for disarmament and political settlements as a basis of negotiations at a summit conference to be called when Labour comes into power; (2) preparing the political atmosphere for the conference by immediately ceasing to manufacture H-bombs and prohibiting nuclear missile launching from British territory.

BASIS FOR PARLEY: This would serve notice on the U.S. that we were not afraid of being attacked by the Soviet Union and so did not need American protection but could and would act independently.

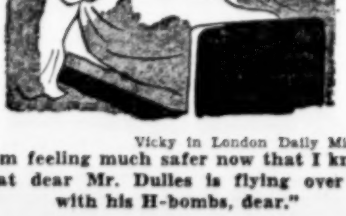
Labour's proposals so parallel Moscow's that its acceptance of our basis of negotiation may be taken for granted. That could make it difficult for the U.S. to hold out, especially because many Americans would find our proposals sensible and because Mr. Dulles would appear like a Chicago gangster trying to sell Europe protection that we didn't want.

But if necessary, we should be prepared to go ahead and negotiate with the U.S.S.R. without the U.S. The agreement reached would then be submitted to the UN General Assembly with a draft resolution recommending it as a basis of settlement. The joint efforts of the two powers and the uncommitted nations' support would suffice to get the necessary two-thirds UN majority.

ARGUMENT AGAINST DULLES: Somewhere along the line, under pressure of U.S. public opinion, Washington would probably come to terms; otherwise it would find itself alone because no French or German government could long survive a refusal to negotiate on the basis of an Anglo-Soviet settlement offering Germany reunification and admission to the UN, and to all Europe peace, disarmament and economic cooperation.

Our final argument against such as Dulles would be that if Washington refused our peace terms we should no longer be bound by it to go to war. We should insist on American forces leaving British territories, withdraw our forces from Europe, refuse to fulfill military obligations without UN Security Council authorization.

Labour's Left is plugging this line to a responsive nation. We believe we can swing the Party to this before the next election.



Vicky in London Daily Mirror
"I'm feeling much safer now that I know that dear Mr. Dulles is flying over us with his H-bombs, dear."

B'KLYN CHURCH STRUGGLE

Melish ouster upheld by N.Y. appeals court

IN A UNANIMOUS DECISION, the seven judges of the New York State Court of Appeals on Dec. 5 upheld the ouster of the Rev. William Howard Melish as rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn Heights. The decision turned on a narrow interpetration of the church's own canon law as against the State Religious Corporations Law. Supporters of Mr. Melish contended that he was illegally removed by less than a quorum of the church's vestrymen, but the court held that under canon law a simple majority had the power of removal.

Mr. Melish said: "The Holy Trinity struggle to maintain the freedom of the human spirit against authoritarian oppression is a work of the highest Christian order. . . . The next step will be determined after a study of the text of the decision."

8-YEAR-OLD FIGHT: Holy Trinity Church, a 110-year-old institution, has been closed since last July as a result of the dispute. The controversy dates back to 1949 when the Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish was removed as rector by the Right Rev. James Pernette DeWolfe, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Long Island. He was charged with supporting alleged left-wing views of his son, who was then assistant rector of the church.

While the rectorship remained vacant, the younger Mr. Melish served as supply priest and performed the duties of rector. He was voted out of the post by the vestry in January, 1956, and replaced the following month by the Rev. Dr. Herman S. Sidener, who was formally installed on March 5 of that year.

Rev. Melish, contesting the vestry's action, continued to hold services. In September, 1956, Supreme Court referee John MacCrate ruled that no quorum was present when the vestry voted against Mr. Melish, but this opinion was overruled by the Appellate Division 4 to 1 in June this year. It is this decision that the Court of Appeals has now upheld.

Mr. Melish and his supporters, a majority of the congregation, have now been ordered to refrain from any interference with the church, its services or its property, but there was no word last week when the institution might be reopened.

'We challenge you to compete in peace'

IN THE COURSE of a 3½-hour interview on Nov. 28 with William Randolph Hearst Jr., Hearst national editor Frank Conniff, and INS correspondent Bob Considine, Soviet CP First Secy. Nikita Khrushchev said:

"Instead [of an arms race] let us trade. If you don't want to trade with us in strategic materials, well and good. . . . But let's not eliminate all trade. So many opportunities to establish friendship come through trade. You have the most powerful state, the greatest capabilities, the most highly developed. We should compete in strengthening the peace through trade. Such is our effort. We arm to repel any attack against us. We do have the ICBM but we will never use it against the U.S. unless the U.S. starts things first, or if a U.S. satellite nation attacks us.

"We declare war upon you—excuse me for using such an expression—in the peaceful field of trade. We challenge you to compete in peaceful things such as the production of radios and televisions and vacuum cleaners, any kind of cleaners. . . . The threat to the U.S. is not the ICBM but in the field of peaceful production [which] will prove the superiority of our system."

BOOKS, MUSIC, TV, BALLET ARE PLENTIFUL AND CHEAP

A non-Intourist guide to the U.S.S.R.

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

AN ENGLISH PHOTOGRAPHER friend of mine, recently in Moscow, was reproached by his Intourist guide for taking a picture of massed television aerials in one of the poorer sections of the city. With an incredibly distorted sense of values, the guide felt the public abroad would get a bad impression of Soviet housing. He wanted my friend to take pictures of the skyscraper apartment houses or the massive blocks of new flats going up in the city's outskirts. The photographer, of course, wanted to illustrate the striking fact that even in the poorest section of the city virtually every house—including the log cabins now condemned to extinction—has its television set.

CULTURAL STANDARDS: Until recently Muscovites were discouraged from inviting visitors to their homes. One of the main reasons, according to my Moscow friends, was because it was considered bad propaganda to show foreign visitors the cramped and generally wretched housing conditions. But the main fact, noted by dozens of young people who accepted street corner invitations to Soviet homes during the Youth Festival, was not the over-crowded and often drab quarters, but the fact that every family had a television set, a record player with a big collection of classical music and well-stocked book-shelves.

Casual visitors to the Soviet Union are naturally inclined to judge the people's cultural standards by the rather gaudy interiors of the hotels in which they stay, the poor cut of people's clothes and other visual impressions. The Intourist guides show them the skyscraper University, the jewels in the Kremlin armory, the subway, the Bolshoi theatre and the vast and informative Agricultural Exhibition, keeping up a patter of facts and statistics to illustrate the mighty material advances made since the October Revolution. Visitors are therefore likely to leave the Soviet Union stunned by the technical advances or appalled by lack of taste in clothing and the high prices of consumer goods.

MOSCOW CHANNEL: In some fields however, the Soviet public's cultural standards have kept pace with the technical and scientific progress which enabled them to launch the baby moon and its bigger brother.

In Moscow, there are a million owners of television sets—about three million viewers. And Moscow is only one of 27 independent television centers. By 1960, there will be 75 TV centers. Sets cost from $85 to $260. Programs are of a high artistic level; plenty of dramatized fairy tales for children, plenty of ballet, theater, opera, concerts and folk ensembles, for the grown-ups. The program for the evening on which this is being written includes: "Adventures of Dr. Doolittle and his Friends" for children; "From the Pages of Contemporary Asia" as a news feature; "Concert of Solo Artists from the Bolshoi Theatre." Television studios have their own theatrical companies but also draw heavily on current stage productions. Sport telecasts are very popular with a good deal of ice-hockey matches on the screens right now.

THE OISTRAKHS FIDDLE AROUND WITH A CHESS BOARD
Igor (l.) is fast matching father David's reputation as a virtuoso

Every one of Moscow's over 20 theatres is booked out for days in advance. An audience of bus-drivers, professors, shop-girls, administrators, mechanics, housewives and others, see superb productions of opera, ballet and theatre every night. They form one of the most critical audiences in the world.

THE OISTRAKHS: A few nights ago, I had the unforgettable pleasure of attending a concert at which the two Oistrakhs played an all-Bach program. Father and son played the Bach double-violin concerto. Father David then played the First Violin Concerto. Son Igor, an extraordinarily handsome young man who already equals his father's masterly technique and is perhaps a little more lyrical and warmer in his touch, played the Second Concerto. Finally David played lead violin in the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto. (Oistrakh recordings are available through GBS; see p. 7.)

The large Conservatorium concert hall was packed almost exclusively with Muscovites. (At the Bolshoi more than half the audience in the orchestra and loges are usually foreign visitors). It was an average cross-section of the Moscow concert-going public—and no more appreciative or music-educated audience exists. Not a chair scuffled or scraped. Coughs were all saved up for the ends of movements or items. It seemed as if no one even breathed from the moment the conductor's bow was raised till the last delicate harmony came to its shimmering end. Then came the warm and gusty appreciation and estactic murmurs peculiar to music-lovers as they gulped their champaigne or tomato juice at the intermission.

It was the disciplined atmosphere of true music-lovers, expectable in a private salon with a few score ardent Bach lovers but a miracle in a large public concert audience. When it was over, the Moscow music-lover put on his relatively shabby coat and went back to his average drab flat.

WHADDAYA READ? Literary taste and education are on the same high level. Look at the book the average Moscow taxi-driver reads between fares or the one your neighbor is reading in bus or subway. First of all, everyone seems to read when they are not doing anything else; and not the comics or shiny covered sex-crime adventures.

A few titles I have noticed in the past week or so, have been Thomas More's **Utopia**; Hemingway's **Old Man of the Sea**; Hugo's **Les Miserables**; Arthur Conan Doyle's **Hound of the Baskervilles**; Dreiser's **American Tragedy**, a dozen or so of Russian classics and Soviet contemporary literature. In a country where the comic-books, sex-and-crime literature do not exist, people devour the classics and modern works with social content. Foreign literature, contemporary and classical, is greatly appreciated and huge editions are put out in the original as well as in Russian translations.

An exhibition of Soviet publishing during the past 40 years, now running in Moscow, points up the great interest in foreign literature. A total of 218 American titles have been published in 50 languages of the U.S.S.R., with over 77,000,000 copies; over 9,000,000 of Mark Twain alone. Hemingway appears in 420,000 copies but with the revived interest in his works, this figure is sure to go up rapidly. Translation of French works total 129,000,000 copies and of English writers about half that figure. Balzac with over 10,000,000 and Maupassant with over 8,000,000 top the French list. A new translation of John Reed's **Ten Days That Shook the World** is prominently displayed among U.S. books. Erskine Caldwell and Mitchell Wilson are among contemporary U.S. writers published in English as well as in translations. Charlotte Bronte, Galsworthy, Cronin, R. L. Stevenson, Mark Twain and Dickens are among others whose works are printed in English.

NON-CONFORMISTS TOO: There is an interesting collection of works on economics, philosophy and sociology usually regarded as "non-conformist" for the U.S.S.R. Thomas More's **Utopia**, for instance, was published in 1918, a year after the Revolution and republished frequently since. An edition came out in 1943 at the height of World War II. Berkeley and Kant, Robert Owen and Saint Simon are issued repeatedly. An edition of Benjamin Franklin came out in 1956. A series of books which might well have been studied by western experts who are having difficulties with inter-continental rockets and satellite launchers are by Tsiokolvsky, referred to as the "father of Soviet rocket engines."

Well over a billion books were published in 1956, more than five per head of the population and eleven times as many as in 1913, although the number of titles are not quite twice as many; 59,500 last year, compared to 30,100 in 1913. Tsarist Russia met the intense intellectual activity of the 19th and early 20th centuries by permitting a broad range of translations of foreign books. Allowing for technical books, school texts and the appetites of libraries and institutes, it still seems that an average of about ten books went into every Russian home last year, especially the classics. Books are snapped up almost as soon as they appear.

A GUIDE FOR GUIDES: Intourist and other official guides here are usually over-eager to cover up obvious and usually explicable material shortcomings in the Soviet Union: lack of housing, high prices and bad quality of many types of consumer goods. They totally ignore the rich cultural fare which is offered at low prices and hungrily lapped up with appetite by a high proportion of the Soviet people. Excellent quality twelve-inch long-playing records sell at a dollar each; well-bound, illustrated books rarely exceed a dollar a volume; a variety and quality of theater, opera and ballet, unexcelled anywhere in the world, are available and top-price seats even at the Bolshoi are $3. Seats can be had in most theaters from 60c up.

Vie Nuove, Rome

Beep, beep, beep

Lloyds of London has insured a house in England against damage if an artificial earth satellite falls on it.

—Capper's Weekly, 11/12

●

It may be true that Soviet education in science makes us look like dummies. But, if so, how does it happen that no Soviet citizen has ever won a Nobel Prize for basic research?

—Philadelphia **Bulletin**, 11/17

●

The launchings of Sputniks I and II, plus the Russian propaganda that followed, are sure signs of insecurity of the Soviet government.

That's the word of Lawrence C. Lockley, dean of SC's School of Commerce, in a monthly report distributed on the campus.

—Los Angeles **Mirror-News**, 11/14

The old place ain't the same

SEN. WILLIAM E. JENNER of Indiana did not explain his decision not to seek re-election next year, but he could have reasonably taken it for granted that all who are interested would understand his action. It has been apparent for some time that Senator Jenner has been lonesome on Capitol Hill since the death of his like-minded friend, Senator McCarthy. With no more fiery crusades by the Wisconsin Senator, witch-hunting has become a dreary business of which even Senator Jenner may have tired.

It is by no means impossible, moreover, that Mr. Jenner has come to realize that the public is weary of the reactionary drivel he has tried to peddle in the name of patriotism. . . .

Probably the chief trouble with Mr. Jenner has been his apparent assumption that hatred of communism was itself a policy. In pursuit of that policy, he has seemed willing to abandon the essentials of security as well as the essentials of freedom. If he has never become a real menace to the American way of life, it is because he has lacked the showmanship of the more flamboyant reactionaries and because few people have taken him seriously.

The announcement of his retirement raises a great hope—that the era in our history which he represents can be finally closed. It is true, of course, that other demagogues who have sought to ride to power by confusing and dividing the people are still in public life. But their appeal is bankrupt. The dominant public mood today is expressed in the new effort to develop a bipartisan response to the Soviet Union's extraordinary progress in science and weapons development. It will be a welcome relief if the country is able to get on with the grim business of strengthening its defenses and seeking new roads to peace without the kind of witch-hunting and neanderthalism to which Mr. Jenner has devoted himself in the past.

—Editorial in Washington **Post**, 12/2

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FOLKWAYS CHILDREN'S AND ADULT LP RE

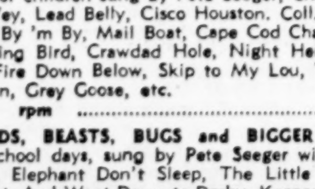
CHILDREN'S SERIES

AGE 2-6

FP5 SONGS TO GROW ON (Nursery Days. Vol. 1), sung by Woody Guthrie with guitar. Prize winning activity album. Superv. by B. Landeck. Put Your Finger in the Air, Come See, Race You Down the Mountain, Car Song, Don't You Push Me Down, My Dolly, How Doo Do, Pick It Up, Merry Go Round, Sleepy Eyes, Wake Up, Clean-O.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP715 SONGS TO GROW ON for MOTHER AND CHILD. Composed, played and sung by WOODY GUTHRIE. Accompaniment includes drum, guitar, rattle, tambourine. The songs are: Grass-y, Grass, Grass; Swim-y, Swim, Swim; Little Sack of Sugar, Rattle My Rattle, I Want My Milk, Grow, Grow, Grow; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; One Day, 2 Days, 3 Days Old; Wash-y, Wash, Wash; I'll Eat You and I'll Drink You; Make A Bubble, Who's My Pretty Baby?; Write a Word. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP721 FOLK SONGS FOR YOUNG FOLK. Vol. 1, Animals. Sung by Alan Mills with guitar accompaniment. Alphabet Song, One More River, Mistress Bond, Who Killed Cock Robin, The Bird's Ball, The Barnyard Song, Three Little Pigs, The Carrion Crow, The Tailor and the Mouse, A Frog He Would A-Wooing Go, The Mallard, Little Bingo, I Know An Old Lady Who Swallowed A Fly.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50



AGE 5-10

FP20 SONGS TO GROW ON (School Days. Vol. 2). American folk songs for children sung by Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Adelaide Van Wey, Lead Belly, Cisco Houston. Coll. by Beatrice Landeck. Text. By 'm By, Mail Boat, Cape Cod Chantey, Rock Island Line, Mocking Bird, Crawdad Hole, Night Herding Song, Going to Boston, Fire Down Below, Skip to My Lou, Tell Aunt Rhodie, Brass Wagon, Grey Goose, etc.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP711 BIRDS, BEASTS, BUGS and BIGGER FISHES. Animal Songs for school days, sung by Pete Seeger with banjo, Mole in the Ground, Elephant Don't Sleep, The Little Black Bull, Good Bye Old Paint, As I Went Down to Darby, Keeper Went a-Hunting, Little Bat, Story of the Frog, Bear Hunt, The Fox, Turtle Dove, Old Blue. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

AGE 7-12

FP27 SONGS TO GROW ON (This is My Land. Vol. 3). Amer. 'work' songs for children, Jerry Oil the Car (R.R.) by McClintock; Bonneville Dam (irrigation) by Woodie Guthrie; Lumbermen's Alphabet by Sam Eskin; Old Blue, Hoe Corn (farmers) by Pete Seeger; Cumberland Deer Chase (mountaineer); Miss Alido (cowboy); Old Man, Haul Away Joe (river songs) by Lead Belly; miner's song by Cisco Houston. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP706 FOLLOW THE SUNSET, sung by Charity Bailey and narrated by Robert Emmett. A Beginning Geography record with nine songs from around the world. Adapted for recording by Eunice Holsaert and Charity Bailey, from the book by Herman and Nina Schneider (Doubleday Publ.). Sleep Baby Sleep, Mexican Lullaby, Go Long Lil' Dogies (R.E.), Chinese Lullaby, Kuma Echa, Nigerian Lullaby, All Through the Night, and Shenandoah (R.E.) Notes are included.
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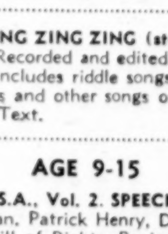
FC754 SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN CHILDREN'S SONGS AND GAMES sung by JEAN RITCHIE with dulcimer and guitar. Notes by Kenneth S. Goldstein. Songs include: Jenny, Put the Kettle On, Go in and Out the Window, The Old Soup Gourd, Among the Little White Daisies, Sally Goodin, Fiddle-I-Fee, Old Bald Eagle, Two Dukes a-Riding, Kitty Alone, Love Somebody, The Swapping Song, Old King Cole, The Old Man in the Woods, Old Shoe Boots, Sourwood Mountain, Green Gravels, Mammy Had an Old Goose, Who Killed Cock Robin?
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FC724 JEWISH CHILDREN SONGS AND GAMES, sung by RUTH RUBIN with 5-string banjo accompaniment by PETE SEEGER. Songs include: Michalku, By Dem Shtetl Yomi, Yomi, Tons, Tons, Lomir Zich Ibberbtn, Amol Iz Geven a Myseh, Kesteleh, Shpitsboydim, Du Maydeleh Du Fines, Oksn, Beker Lit, Hommtashn, Shayn Bin Ich, A Genayvi. Descriptive notes include songs in Yiddish and English translation.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP2 WHO BUILT AMERICA. American history thru folksongs. Intro. by Beatrice Landeck. Text. Sung by Bill Bonyon with guitar. Waly, Waly, Praetes, Santy Ano, Boll Weevil, Happiness Song, Chisholm Trail, Mi Chacra, Salangadou, Green Mountain Boys, Erie Canal, Government Claim, Drill Ye Tarriers, Jesse James, Shoot the Buffalo, So Long, Shluf Kind, Kleine Jonges.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50

FP709 MORE SONGS TO GROW ON, sung by Alan Mills (guitar). Hah, This Way, Up In A Baloon, How Old Are You, Raisins and Almonds, These Craw, Trip a Trop Tronjes, We Wish You A Merry Christmas, The Beasts Carol, May Day Carol, The New River Train, I Ride Old Paint, The Big Corral, Haul Away Joe, Donkey Riding, Two In The Middle, Little Lady From Baltimore, Risselty Rosselty, The Bold Fisherman, There Was An Old Man, We Whooped and We Hollered, Liza Jane, American Folk Songs from Beatrice Landeck's new book "More Songs to Grow On." Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50



FP701 AMERICAN FOLK SONGS for children sung by Pe[te] Seeger with banjo. All Around the Kitchen, Billy Barlow, Bough[t] Me A Cat, Clap Your Hands, Frog Went a-Courting, Jim Alon[g] Josie, Jim Crack Corn, She'll Be Coming Round the Mountai[n] This Old Man, Train is a-Coming. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.5

FP703 1, 2, 3 and a-ZING ZING ZING (street songs and games of the children of N.Y.) Recorded and edited by Tony Schwartz in section of New York. Includes riddle songs, ball-game songs, sk[ip] rope and rhythm games and other songs of children performed on-the-spot activities. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.5

AGE 9-15

FP48/11 Heritage U.S.A., Vol. 2. SPEECHES AND DOCUMENT[S] narrated by David Kurlan. Patrick Henry, Declaration of Indepen[d]ence, Thomas Paine, Bill of Rights, Benjamin Franklin, Washin[g]ton's Farewell Address. Part 1.
10" 33⅓ $3.5

FP48/12 Heritage U.S.A., Vol 2. SPEECHES AND DOCUMENT[S] narrated by David Kurlan. Daniel Webster, John Brown, Edwa[rd] Everett at Gettysburg, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Part 2.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.5

FP712 THE STORY OF JAZZ for Children, Young People a[nd] others, conceived and narrated by Langston Hughes using the ori[g]inal recordings as demonstrations from the Anthology of Ja[zz] (FOLKWAYS 53, 55, 57, 59, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73 a[nd] FP75). "Tops," Downbeat and High Fidelity magazines. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.5

INSTRUCTION

FP303 5-STRING BANJO INSTRUCTOR with PETE SEEGE[R] A Basic Strum, The Fifth String, 'Hammering on', Pulling o[ff] Double thumbing, Frailing, Three finger picking, A loud stru[m] miscellaneous postscripts, 3/4 and 6/8 time, Blues and ja[zz] Spanish and South American guitar techniques. Illustrated Manu[al]
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AY BAZAAR

Children's Books

FOR AGES 3-7

'ROUND THE CLOCK BOOK. Teaches children how to tell time with full color pictures and happy rhymes. Includes a big clock with red, plastic movable hands and numbers $1

COLOR-ME-AGAIN ANIMAL BOOK, designed by Frank Angelini. A gay book in the shape of an elephant. Full color pictures to color and wipe off. Picture titles in larger type. Pure color crayons attached $1

FOR AGES 6-10

THANK YOU, MR. SUN by Hyman Ruchlis, illustrated by Alice Hirsh. Generously illustrated, the book teaches the impact of the sun on every aspect of life. The child will get an initial understanding of the meaning of energy and the relationship of the sciences of chemistry, physics and biology $1

WHAT MAKES ME TICK? by Hyman Ruchlis; illustrated by Alice Hirsh. How people and cars work. The similarities and differences between a human body and an automobile are developed in conversation between Jimmy and the Car $1

FOR AGES 8-12

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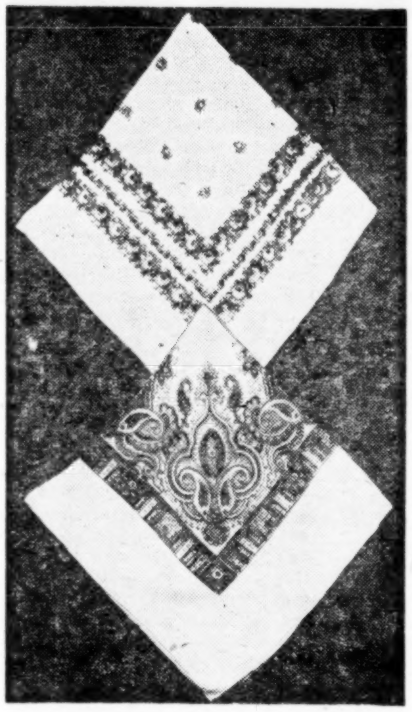

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Canaveral tragedy

(Continued from Page 1)

N.Y. **World-Telegram** said editorially: "Even more than the beep-beep of our own sputniks, the sound we most want to hear is the thud-thud of heads being knocked together in Washington."

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** had another suggestion for Washington. Its editorial, entitled "Goofnik Blows Up," said: "The Soviets have a habit of liquidating their bureaucrats who fail. Some heads ought to be rolling over here now." Congressmen were impatient to begin the head-hunting with a full-scale investigation. Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) called it "one of the best publicized and most humiliating failures in our history." Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.) said in a radio broadcast: "It was pretty well known that it was not ready but the demand was to shoot it now, no matter what happens."

"TOTAL" LOSS OF FAITH: Overseas the roars of laughter were deafening. British headlines read like these: "Ike's Phutnik"—**Daily Mirror;** "Oh, What a Flopnik"—**Daily Express;** "U.S. Calls it Kaputnik"—**News Chronicle.** The Swiss **Tribune de Lausanne** said: "If ridicule could kill, America would be dead today." Columnist Joseph Alsop, writing from Lebanon, said: ". . . in one way or another the loss of faith in American leadership has become more and more widespread, until today it may be described as total."

The Russian press played the news straight for the most part, only occasionally breaking into satire to thank the U.S. for comic relief. Earlier, as Vanguard was being readied at Cape Canaveral, Nikita Khrushchev indicated he had no doubts about the U.S. effort: "It is time for the Americans to launch it [the satellite] and I am sure it will be launched sooner or later."

THE FALLING ROCKET: However, he also charged that parts of the rocket of the first Russian sputnik had fallen over Alaska and northwestern U.S. on Nov. 30 and that the U.S. was refusing to send back pieces for study in Moscow. An "autopsy" on the rocket would provide invaluable data on its long stay in space. Later the Soviet Academy of Sciences issued a formal appeal for the rocket remains.

The U.S. denied any knowledge of the rocket. Alaskan sky-watchers had earlier reported spectacular flares in the sky on Nov. 30 but insisted they were meteors. The Army had ordered a search 100 miles southeast of Fairbanks, Alaska, following the flashes but then called off the hunt, partly because of heavy snow. There was no indication that the search would be resumed.

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** said in an open letter to Khrushchev: "Listen here, Nikita, we don't know if it fell in the United States or not . . . but if we **were** keeping it, nobody could really blame us. After all, it would be the only one we have that **worked.**"

"MASSIVE RECONCILIATION": Some of the comment was more sober. E. Howard Perkins, president of Brooks and Perkins, Inc., makers of the full-scale (basketball-size) satellite ultimately to be sent up, said: "This shows we are a long way behind Russia; that it's not a nip-and-tuck race." But Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, new president of the influential Natl. Council of Churches of Christ, went to the heart of the matter and called for "a program of massive reconciliation." He denounced the "futility" of spending millions on national defense "that never in the world can defend us," and condemned the "feverish philosophy of bomb-for-bomb, rocket-for-rocket and Sputnik-for-Sputnik."

The Chicago **Sun-Times** called for the return of scientists J. Robert Oppenheimer and Edward U. Condon, drummed out of service by witch-hunt.

The warnings and the global laughter left Washington officials unmoved in their cold-war rut. Asst. Secy. of Defense Murray Snyder said: "We have not exceeded good judgment in the program nor will we." Under Secy. of Defense Donald A. Quarles: "We feel that this incident

Herblock in Washington Post

"Whew! At first I thought it was sent up by one of the other services."

has no bearing on the programs for the development of intermediate range and intercontinental ballistic missiles, which are continuing to make fine progress." Vice President Nixon: "It is not a military missile and this event in no way indicates lack of progress or failure in the military field."

But even before the Vanguard fizzled there was a strong undercurrent of dismay among U.S. rocketry experts.

COMPLETELY FOOLED: Dr. Wernher von Braun was gloomy. After the war he and his colleagues on Hitler's rocket program joined the U.S. forces in the publicly proclaimed conviction that they had at last picked the winning side. They became the West's most cherished war prizes. Von Braun now heads the Army's rocket development work at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. Last week he told Scripps-Howard reporter Jim G. Lucas that he had been "completely fooled" by reports from his former associates who had gone to the Soviet Union after the war and then returned to the West.

From them, said Dr. von Braun, "I concluded that the Russians had been foolish in the way they used the German experts they captured at the end of World War II. I also gained the impression that their missile program was rather poorly managed and hadn't produced anything really to worry about."

Von Braun found out later, he said, that the Germans in Russia "had been effectively isolated from the real Soviet missile program. . . . The isolation was so perfect that they were obviously not even aware of its existence."

HARD WORK: The world had been told previously that the spectacular Soviet successes were due to "secrets" filched from the U.S. or wrung from captured Nazi scientists. But last month Dr. Edward Teller, key scientist in the H-Bomb development, told the Senate Preparedness subcommittee that neither spies nor Nazis gave the Russians their imposing lead. His explanation: "They worked harder."

The news leaked out by way of East Germany and Finland that the Nazi scientists, far from heading Soviet scientific enterprise, were living as prisoners of war. The N. Y. **World-Telegram** cited Finnish sources to the effect that they were "swallowed into the enormous vacuum of interior Russia" but were "comfortably housed, well clothed, well fed, well treated. Except that they had no freedom." Some of the scientists, the report said, had taught Russian students, but the teachers have been released and allowed to go to East Germany "—a clear indication, it is believed, that Russian science had progressed to the point where they no longer served any useful purpose."

OTHER REASONS: There were other explanations of the strange inability of the U.S. to bat its soft-ball sputnik, though it allegedly fielded a Russian rocket. Edward U. Condon, former chief of the Natl. Bureau of Standards and now chairman of the Physics Dept. at Washington University, blamed the continuing witch-hunt. In an address before the American Physical Society in Washington last month, Dr. Condon said the Eisenhower administration has been "committed by policy to persecution of scientists" or else "callous indifference" while others do the persecuting. He bitterly assailed Vice President Nixon, charging that the nation's freedom had been "undermined and attacked and weakened by men like the one who may move into the White House in case the President's illness proves to be more serious than we have been told." The 250 physicists present gave Condon an ovation when he finished.

Meanwhile down the ways into the River Neva slid the first surface vessel powered by atomic fuel, the Russian icebreaker "Lenin." It was not only the first atomic surface ship; it was also the first non-military atomic vessel. The U.S. has three atomic-powered vessels, all submarines. The U.S. hopes to have two atomic surface ships in its war fleet by 1960 and an atomic task force by 1965. One U.S. atomic merchant ship is scheduled for 1960.

The news of the atomic "Lenin" succeeded in stemming a declining stock market in Wall Street as shipbuilding share-owners figured that the U.S. would follow the Russian lead and speed up work on nuclear vessels.

All was not lost, however, in U.S. rocketry last week. The Austin, Minn., Rocket Society (membership: 10; age group: 14-17) fired a rocket 1,642 feet carrying a live mouse, which died when the rocket crashed, well within Austin territory. Assisting in the rocket design was Sister M. Dunnsscotus, a science teacher at Pacelli High School. Animal lovers and Russians made no comment.

U.S. Satellite More Elegant, Less Powerful

N.Y. World-Telegram, 12/4

Labor convention

(Continued from Page 1)

just because somebody doesn't like us." In New York teamster president-elect James R. Hoffa, standing trial on a wire-tapping charge, tossed off the ouster with the remark that the federation "didn't build us; they won't weaken us."

Earlier an official policy statement in the teamsters' official organ, distributed at the opening of the convention, said that if expelled, the union would "continue to cooperate and work with our sister unions as we have in the past" and pledged specifically not to raid, wreck or destroy other unions. It promised "to work in harmony in the local central bodies, in state organizations and through inter-union agreements" and said it would continue to honor mutual aid pacts with other international unions "unless we are expressly forbidden." The AFL-CIO constitution bans such pacts with expelled unions.

PEACE PLEDGE: The statement added: "We will not be vindictive or vengeful against anyone or any union, even though at times the temptation may be pressing. The welfare of our 1,500,000 members and that of the 15,000,000 other union members is too important for the teamsters or for any other union to wreck established orderly and productive procedures which have been built with care and sincerity through the years. The teamsters will never be the first to withdraw from any of these agreements. The burden of wrecking useful arrangements will not be on our heads. Our course is clear and unmistakable: cooperation in

London Daily Mirror

"If they won't give us a shorter work-week, how about a longer week-end?"

a joint and brotherly effort to advance the basic aims of the trade union movement."

Whether these pledges would hold against the obvious bitterness of teamster officials at the actual ouster remained to be seen. The federation gave no indication that it might charter a rival union to the teamsters.

The Eisenhower legislative proposals were presented to the convention by Secy. of Labor James F. Mitchell along with a message from the President to AFL-CIO president George Meany in which he said: "Your efforts during the past months to rid your great organization of corrupt elements have given the American people renewed confidence in our free labor movement's sense of public responsibility."

SUPERVISION: Mitchell said the Administration did not favor proposals for a national "right-to-work" law which would outlaw the union shop or for extending anti-trust laws to labor and added that it will not permit "those who have never approved of organized labor to use labor's present difficulties as a club to suppress unionism."

The legislative program calls for exhaustively detailed reports from all levels of all unions not only on their handling of welfare and pension funds, but on all financial transactions through their own treasuries. Simliar detailed reports would be required on the organizational operations of all unions covering their meetings, conventions and other activities. Election of all local officials by direct secret ballot would be mandatory by law, with election of national officers either by direct or indirect secret ballot at intervals of not more than four years.

All reports would be filed with a new Commissioner of Labor Reports, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, working directly under the Secy. of Labor. Individuals charged with filing false reports could be jailed and fined, while unions could be punished by loss of NLRB status and tax exemption.

LABOR STATESMEN: Employers would be required to file reports on payments to employe representatives, either directly or through third parties, "which run contrary to the rights and welfare of individual union members and are prohibited by law." New federal laws would be directed against bribery and embezzlement, and the Secy. of Labor would have full subpena powers for all required reports.

At first hearing, many union officials seemed relieved that the program wasn't harsher. David Dubinsky of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union said: "I was pleasantly surprised to find the Secretary making a number of constructive suggestions." James B. Carey of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers said of the Mitchell speech: "If the delivery in Washington is as good as the delivery here today, it will be a real contribution to labor-management relations." The New York **Times** called the program "a model of high statesmanship."

CURRAN DISSENTS: But Joe Curran of the Natl. Maritime Union said: "I think most of the proposals stink. The good ones are merely demagogic smoke screens to cloak the real intent, which is restrictive legislation." Other union chiefs were reported to be less enthusiastic after a closer second look at the package.

To Senators McClellan (D-Ark.) and Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), a member of the McClellan committee, the proposals were far too mild. Two days after Mitchell spoke, Curtis demanded a national "right-to-work" law, application of anti-trust laws to labor and a ban on use of union funds for political purposes. Sen. McClellan said the proposals are "a step in the right direction, but I do not say that they were adequate" and added that there are "other areas in which remedial legislation may be needed."

"IF DIRT WAS TRUMP, WHAT HANDS YOU WOULD HOLD!"—Lamb
Garbage in the Paris streets was quickly cleaned up after a recent 24-hour sanitation workers strike. The NATO heads-of-state meeting there this week is expected to take a lot longer to clean up its mess.

AFTER 8 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

Why Indonesia moved against Dutch

SHORTLY BEFORE the issue of West Irian (West New Guinea) came up once again in the UN General Assembly last month, Indonesia's President Sukarno warned that the UN's failure to act would prompt Jakarta to "take measures which would startle the world."

On Nov. 30 Indonesia failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds Assembly vote in favor of renewed Hague-Jakarta negotiations to satisfy Indonesia's claim to West Irian. Observers wondered if Sukarno would order the island to be taken over.

Last week Indonesia moved. Its action took the form of sharply speeding up the inevitable nationalization of Dutch-owned enterprises. The government began to take over Dutch-owned banks, estates, shipping and other businesses and ordered about 46,000 Dutch nationals to leave the country as soon as possible. Indispensable Dutch technicians were ordered to remain at their jobs.

BILLION DOLLAR DEAL: The action was preceded by a 24-hour strike against Dutch enterprises; establishing workers' managements in Dutch-owned plantations, banks and shipping, and a ban on Dutch ships leaving the country. Indonesians displayed no personal hostility toward individual Dutch.

After eight years of Indonesian independence, the Netherlands still had over $1,000,000,000 invested in Indonesia. The Dutch controlled the three largest banks, inter-island shipping, harbor facilities and installations, airlines, public utilities and transportation, oil fields (some in partnership with British and American investors), as well as rubber, tea, sisal, tobacco, sugar, palm oil and other plantations. Dutch banks handled nearly 80% of the country's financial transactions and Dutch capital accounted for over 80% of foreign business activity.

A "LOGICAL PART": Indonesians have accused the Dutch of fomenting disorders and supporting dissidents in Indonesia from the Netherlands' base in West Irian in order to maintain control of the country's economy. Three years ago the **Christian Science Monitor,** declaring that "West New Guinea would seem to be a logical part of the new Indonesia," reported (11/27/54) that the Dutch were bolstering their West Irian military establishment. They ferried additional troops by air from the Netherlands, built fighter airstrips, brought the crack destroyer Piet Hein to augment their naval forces, erected a $2,500,000 airport at Biak and extended the harbor facilities at Hollandia Port.

Since then the Dutch, in their half of the world's second largest island (East Irian is ruled by Australia), have invested heavily in such export crops as cocoa, rubber and coffee. West Irian is reportedly rich also in copper, bauxite, nickel and uranium. The N. Y. **Times** said (12/7): "That the Dutch had expected to remain a long time [in West Irian] is indicated by their industry and their investments. One massive private effort has been to drill oil in the swampy jungle near Sorong."

NATO AID ASKED: According to the Chinese news agency **Hsinhua,** all was not well with Dutch colonial rule in West Irian. The population of four key towns—Sorong, Biak, Hollandia and Merauke—were reported "preparing for revolt." The Dutch were said to be adding troops, police and coast patrols. Last week they sent two submarine destroyers and a frigate to West Irian and asked its NATO partners to support it against Indonesia.

At GUARDIAN press time, Dutch consulates in Indonesia were reported closed and a break in Hague-Jakarta diplomatic relations seemed imminent.

NATO conference

(Continued from Page 1)

shipment of American and British arms to Tunisia. The Tunisians wanted these arms not, as the French said, to relay them to the Algerians, but to defend themselves against French troops raiding Tunisian soil allegedly in pursuit of Algerian freedom fighters.

France is resentful over what it considers British attempts to cuddle up closer to the U.S. to gain a dominant position in NATO. Britain is threatening to pull out a major part of its forces in Germany because of West Germany's failure to raise its quota of armed forces and its refusal to pay a third of the cost of maintaining the British troops there. Throughout Western Europe there is almost unanimous resentment over the presence of American troops.

The U.S. delegation — whoever heads it—is going to the mid-December NATO meeting with an agenda certain to aggravate both Western conflicts and East-West tensions.

THE RIGHT OF THE TRIGGER: Reports indicate that the U.S. agenda will include proposals for exchange of scientific and technical information on nuclear weapons, including rockets; a training program for their use; construction of sites from which to launch them; supplying U.S. allies with the actual nuclear warheads for these rockets; establishing some method by which Washington can retain the sole right to "pull the trigger."

The agenda made no provision for exploring even as an alternative the possibilities of negotiating with Moscow on relaxing world tensions. This was not unexpected since Dulles would be the policy-maker.

On Dec. 3 Dulles said that it was useless to negotiate with Moscow because "the Soviet cannot be relied on to live up to their promises." The **Manchester Guardian** said (12/6) that Dulles was becoming "a professional anti-Soviet, someone to whom every action by the Soviet government appears suspect or worse by reason of its origin rather than its nature."

In a series of lectures over the British Broadcasting Corp., George F. Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to Moscow and originator of the "containment of communism" policy, admitted that he had been wrong about Soviet potentialities for industrial development, recommended East-West negotiations for a united, neutralized Germany and withdrawal of troops from both sides of Germany. He was sharply critical of U.S. agenda plans.

In discussing NATO as a "military shield," Joseph C. Harsch said (**Christian Science Monitor,** 12/4): Kennan thinks that the Moscow danger is largely economic and political—no longer, if it ever was, military. Western capitals reject that theory in words, but lean increasingly toward it in actual policies. For only if Kennan is right could anyone dare neglect the shield, and the shield is being eroded, neglected, and threatened with the rising importance to each of conflicting interests."

NO, THANK YOU: Kennan also opposed nuclear weapons for NATO members. He said: "I cannot overemphasize the fatefulness of such a step. I do not see how it could fail to produce a serious increase in the existing military tension in Europe [and] assure that there can in the future be no minor difficulty in Europe that does not at once develop into a major one."

Kennan's lectures received wide attention in Europe, where feeling was growing against construction of missile bases. Denmark and Norway have already refused to accept U.S. missiles. Sweden is reportedly promoting the idea of an "atom-free zone, a neutral belt in the cold war stretching from Scandinavia across Europe to the Adriatic." The N.Y. **Times** reported (12/1): "No foreigner, official or private, has received a hearing in West Germany since World War II comparable to that given" Kennan's lectures.

"FROZEN AND STERILE": If it follows its reported NATO agenda, the U.S. will end up by merely giving NATO a new coat of paint to hide its corrosion. For, as Lippmann pointed out (11/26), one "great reason" for the crisis "is that as our military technology has fallen behind, our diplomacy has become frozen and sterile, and without a vision and a purpose of better things to come."

It remains doubtful, however, if a really purposeful political program—for East-West negotiations to reduce tensions instead of a call for more military bases—can come from Washington without a resounding demand from the American public.

The Democrats seem to have no alternative for the Administration's program. William V. Shannon noted (N.Y. **Post,** 12/5) that Adlai Stevenson had few constructive suggestions when he was called for consultation: "Stevenson is not one of those who believe there are dramatic alternatives to existing policies. He does not . . . share ex-ambassador Kennan's view. . . . Stevenson's differences with the Eisenhower Administration are differences of emphasis and priorities. . . . [He] supports the Administration policy of establishing missile bases in Western Europe . . ."

THE NEXT MORNING: To turn American policy from its suicidal bent, the public must demand, as the Conservative Canadian External Affairs Secy. Sidney Smith declared, that we must not say "no or nyet" to every Russian proposal. Smith said that Canadians are "greatly disturbed when we read of a proposal for a high-level conference and the next morning we read press reports from Washington quoting [Administration] spokesmen to the effect that it is to be turned down."

In **The Nation** (12/7), Columbia University sociology professor C. Wright Mills (**The Power Elite**) proposed a constructive program:

- East-West coexistence based on negotiation.
- "Some 20% of the current U.S. military budget should be allocated to the economic aid and industrial development of underdeveloped countries."
- Increased exchange of citizens and U.S. passports and visas to all who wish to travel.
- Removal of "security and loyalty restrictions" and exchange of scientific information.
- Removal from private hands to public control of scientific research and development related to the military.
- Cessation of "all further production of 'extermination' weapons."
- Abandonment of all U.S. military bases abroad.
- Promotion of disarmament.
- Acceptance of Moscow's proposal for arms embargo to the Middle East; joint guarantee of all frontiers in the area; drafting of regional and international wealth—if necessary the expropriation of local oil concerns—for a Middle East development program.
- U.S. recognition of China "and of all other Communist-type states. Without what the peoples of China and India have to offer, the world is too poor to get along properly."
- The U.S. should announce some such program now, then "earnestly seek meetings with the Russians, with or without other nations present."

Mills said he did not suppose his "proposals will be acted upon this week by the power elite of the U.S." on the ground that they are utopian. But, he said, "precisely what they call utopian is now the only condition of human survival."

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
NATO flu is bad too

the SPECTATOR

A Fable

The following story, titled "A Fable for Teachers—Abused and Disabused," appeared in the Oct. 31 issue of the Southwestern Labor Record of Tuscon, Ariz. The issue was largely devoted to the November convention of the Arizona Fedn. of Teachers.

ONCE UPON A TIME there was a feudal DUKE who ruled over his peasants ever so beneficently. However, among some of the peasants there was talk of wanting to make life less feudal. Some went so far as to suggest they should band together to improve their lot.

When the DUKE heard this, he stroked his beard thoughtfully and called a meeting of all his peasants. "What you peasants need is more democracy, and I'm going to see that you get it! We'll form a club and we'll call it the SOCIETY of PROFESSIONAL PEASANTS AND PRINCES—SOPP—for short. It will be a 50-50 proposition; all you peasants will be expected to join and pay your dues; we PRINCES of the realm will run it," declared the DUKE.

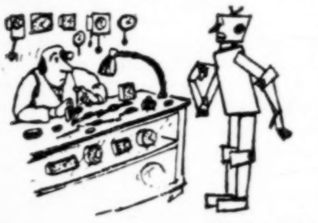
A thrill of pride raced through the peasants at their sudden new prestige. They bowed their humble heads and were content—all but a few malcontents who prophesied darkly that you cannot carry water far in a leaky vassal.

After several years passed, a spokesman for the DEPARTMENT OF JUST PLAIN PEASANTS said, "Dear leader, we thinkest we need more than one-half slice of bread per day."

"Excellent, but first let's have our research department check the surrounding kingdoms to see what peasants are getting there," said the benign DUKE. "Then if you still think you deserve more bread, I shall allow you to petition the KING personally."

AND SO IT WAS FOUND that in some places not even one-half slice of bread was given per day. Pointing out how well off they were, the DUKE gently chided the peasants for their greediness. They were sore ashamed and passed a resolution thanking the KING and DUKE for what they were getting.

That very day the DUKE came out to tell his peasants what a truly noble thing they were doing. His crops were the best for miles around; his cattle were fat; his vineyards heavy with fruit; and his new stronghold, built of bricks donated by LIFE-MEMBERED PEASANTS, was breathtaking to behold! Wasn't it inspiring for them to watch the kernels grow to a bountiful harvest? The DUKE explained to them that such satisfaction simply could not be measured in terms of mere bread.



Lavoro, Rome

"I have a nervous tic, Doc!"

So each night the peasants went home to their hovels with their one-half slice of bread and told themselves—lest they forget—how happy—and lucky they were.

But then after a time it came to pass that one day the DUKE told them that they must work extra hours as he and the KING were taking over more land. Henceforth, during their lunch hours, the peasants would be expected to chase the blackbirds from the crops. After dark would be free time—except for watching the sheep, milking the cows, counting the grain, and squeezing the grapes.

"But," said the peasants, "we need more than one-half slice of bread to work so many hours and we've heard in the next kingdom they are getting two-thirds of a slice of bread and two grapes for chasing the goats all night."

"Aha, so be it," said the DUKE, "I'll tell the KING, and he will decide on such wonderful measures." The KING decreed: "Two-thirds of a slice of bread and a fig for my loyal peasants!"

AND SO THE HAPPY YEARS passed, the hours getting longer, the fields bigger, the flocks larger. Strangely enough there were no new peasants to replace the old peasants. It seemed that the young, able villains were slipping off into the towns. There were, however, some peasants who counted this a blessing because it was rumored that were it not for such a scarcity of peasants the KING had planned to cut the bread back to one-half slice because many of the LORDS couldn't see where they were going to get all that bread.

The DUKE assured those peasants who did occasionally intimate that they felt somewhat overburdened that their problem was being studied. A new type of animal was being bred—a hybrid that would be called a PEASANT'S AIDE. Fortunately this animal could subsist chiefly on air. Moreover, since raising the bread ration of all peasants was out of the question—the LORDS said there just was not that much dough to be spared—those peasants who had proved themselves most loyal would be singled out for special reward.

THEN IT CAME TO PASS that some of the peasants heard that the workers in the town had chosen their own leader and were demanding—and getting—not only bread, but **fresh** bread and enough of it! Loyal SOPP members were quick to point out that such actions were all right for common ordinary workers, but that true SOPPS should never forget that they were **professional peasants**. Some SOPPS asked, "Why?"

And so at last some of the peasants declared themselves no longer satisfied with the SOPP, and chose their own leader from the ranks of the PLAIN OLD PEASANTS and lived happily ever after.

The KING and all the DUKES were deeply hurt—and sore afraid.

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SUPREME COURT DECISION

Rowoldt deportation is reversed

IN AN IMPORTANT DECISION last week, the Supreme Court reversed a decision upholding a deportation order against Charles Rowoldt, 73, who came to the U.S. in 1914. The 5-4 decision, an interpretation of the Internal Security Act of 1950, said that "meaninful proof" of association with the Communist Party was required tc sustain a deportation order. Rowoldt was accused in 1947 of having been a CP member in 1936. The only evidence against him was his own testimony that he had joined the Party to help people get something to eat during the depression.

Justice Frankfurter wrote the decision which was concurred in by Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan and Chief Justice Warren. Justice Clark dissented "with regret," he said, because "this is a harsh statute." The statute calls for deportation of aliens who have been CP members, no matter when they joined and regardless of the legal status of the Party.

CALENDAR

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HEAR: MURRAY WEISS, editor International Socialist Review, "The Future of American Socialism" Sunday, Dec. 15, 8 p.m. — Workers' Educational Center, Gainsboro Building, 295 Huntington Av.

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THE GALLERY

LANGSTON HUGHES ON HIS TRAVELS noted that books by Negro authors were hard to get. Occasionally he'd donate a volume to a library to fill that gap. Last month the cause of integration on the nation's book shelves moved a long step forward with launching of a new book club, the Negro Book Society. On the NBS advisory board are Hughes, author Arna Bontemps of Fisk University, Jean Blackwell, curator of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, Mozell Hill, editor of **Phylon** and James W. Ivy of **The Crisis.** . . . First NBS selection is Hughes' **Simple Stakes A Claim,** but the club offers to gets its subscribers any book on a long rich list of works by American Negroes and others of African descent. It includes these Americans: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Julian Mayfield, E. Franklin Frazier, Carl T. Rowan, Richard Wright, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Marian Anderson. From Africa: Peter Abrahams, Joseph Kyabambiddwa (on music) and Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana. From Brazil, Gilberto Freyre; The Barbadoes, George Lamming; Haiti, Jacques Roumain; British Guiana, Edgar Mittelholzer . . . For the children, books by Shirley Graham, Gwendolyn Brooks, Arna Bontemps and Hughes . . . You join NBS by buying any book on the list (at bargain prices). You get the list and all other information by writing to The Negro Book Society, 459 W. 144th St., N.Y. 31.

A MURAL BY THE LATE DIEGO RIVERA, 73 feet wide and 23 feet high, has been hidden in a shed of San Francisco City College for 15 years. Following Rivera's death the demand has grown to force the college to put up the mural or let it go elsewhere where San Franciscans can see it. . . . New York is preparing for its biggest art show: 4,000 paintings or sculptures to be shown in Madison Sq. Garden from Jan. 17-26. The show is to be billed as "ART: USA: 58." Only works completed after Jan. 1, 1957, will be shown. Five judges will award prizes, totalling $5,000. Artists are limited to two entries, with a $3 fee for each; deadline: Dec. 15. The **Art Students League News** celebrated Art's entry into the Garden with a headline: "Adieu pugs, thugs, mugs."

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S TIT-FOR-TAT diplomacy is keeping Soviet chess master David Bronstein from playing in an international tournament in Dallas, Tex., and Soviet cartoonists from accepting an invitation from the American Assn. of Editorial Cartoonists, due to meet next year in Indianapolis. Washington explained that Dallas and Indianapolis are off-limits in retaliation for travel restrictions the Soviet Union puts on foreigners. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** thought spite curtains might be necessary, but "all rules should have intelligent exceptions" . . . Soviet pianist Emil Gilels and violinist Leonid Kogan will be allowed to play in New York next month. Kogan will tour with the Boston Symphony but presumably will not be permitted to cross the city lines of Dallas and Indianapolis.

DR. JAMES R. KILLIAN JR., the President's Special Assistant for Science and Technology, was greeted shortly after taking office with a letter from seven prominent peace advocates saying: "There will be real hope for man's continued existence only when scientists leave military work and accept the job of Humanity's Special Assistant for the Science and Technology of Peace." . . . **I. F. Stone's Weekly** of Nov. 18 scored handsomely by being the only U.S. periodical to print in full the text of Gen. Omar Bradley's plea for peace. Bradley warned against the missile-anti-missile spiral and asked: "Have we already gone too far in this search for peace through the accumulation of peril? . . . How long—I would ask you—can we put off salvation? When does humanity run out? If enough of us believe strongly enough in the ability of intelligent human beings to get together on some basis of a just accord, we might somehow, somewhere, in some way and under some auspices make a start on it. Unless we get started, it may be too late." . . . Prisoners-For-Peace Day, Dec. 1, went almost unnoticed by most Americans but 20 pickets of organizations affiliated with the War Resisters International paraded in front of the Justice Dept. in Washington for amnesty for conscientious objectors of World War II.

NOBEL PRIZE WINNER Dr. Harold C. Urey has agreed to work at the University of California's La Jolla laboratory after June 1. He will offer chemistry courses next fall. At present Dr. Urey is at Chicago U., doing extensive research into chemical aspects of the origin of the Universe . . . The December issue of **Scientific American** estimates that if all U.S. power needs were met by atomic reactors, by the year 2000 the dangerous radioactive wastes would equal that launched into the atmosphere by 8,000,000 atomic bomb explosions every year. The prospect pointed up the urgency of man's next forward step: development of atomic fusion instead of fission, which could produce abundant power with no radioactivity.

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THE WRITER AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Howard Fast inspects himself and ex-god

HOWARD FAST is a prolific writer of talent and story-telling power who since 1935 has written some 30 novels, plays, histories, collections of short stories, critical works and books for juveniles. In the late '30s and early '40s his novels were greeted by the critics with "hails of joy" and he was described as "one of America's finest writers of historical novels."

Then, in 1943, Fast joined the Communist Party and soon emerged as one of its chief spokesmen in the cultural field. The critical acclaim died and publishers became uninterested in him. By 1951 no big publisher would take his books and he began to publish his own.

But even as his literary fortunes declined with the Cold War at home, his books were being published by the hundreds of thousands in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is estimated that his collected works have had a world sale of 20,000,000. (One assumes that the royalties were as booming as the sales, so there was no financial hardship for Fast during this time.) At peace congresses Fast was accepted as the voice of the unvanquished American writer, and he spoke in that vein. At diplomatic receptions he was sought out by representatives of socialist nations. In 1953 he received the Stalin Peace Prize.

HOWARD FAST
"As I had sown so did I reap"

LIFE APPARENTLY proceeded apace for Fast until Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. After the speech was publicized in the U.S., Fast, then writing a column for the **Daily Worker,** became increasingly critical of the U.S.S.R., especially about the fate of the Jewish writers and Jewish culture there.

In June, 1956, he stopped writing his column. Then, last February, in an interview with Harry Schwartz in the N.Y. **Times,** Fast said he had disassociated himself from the Party and no longer considered himself a Communist. He said: "I am neither anti-Soviet nor anti-Communist, but I cannot work and write in the Communist movement." Khrushchev's horrifying account of the Stalin era was the decisive factor.

After that Fast's career took a new turn. He was sought out for radio and television interviews (including Radio Liberation) and for articles in publications which would have none of him before. In all of them he told his story and the questions mainly turned on two points: How did he come to join the Party—why did he leave?

Last month Fast's newest book was published. It is called **The Naked God*** and in it Fast attempts to draw the line linking the two points. In doing so he concentrates on "the writer and the Party," with side excursions to describe the workings of the Party, its hierarchy and the relationship between leadership and rank and file. And it is quite clear that since the **Times** interview he has become both anti-Soviet and anti-Communist.

IT IS a disjointed book and therefore hard to follow; and, strangely, for all its personal quality and the passion that should be inherent in such a history, it is a cold book, written with bitterness and conceit—and without love. There are constant references to the brotherhood of man and the dignity of mankind—but in their repetition these glorious words become clichés.

Fast hates the leadership of the Party and tells stories which, if accepted on their face, present an unpretty picture of rigid men in a narrow world. He hates many of the people who have helped the Party financially and describes them as a blood-thirsty pack of mink-coats and their consorts. While he insists that he will "speak to the harm of no man and name no man ever as an individual, if naming him will bring him before the face of injustice," he presents some unnamed but identifiable persons in a manner that smacks of spleen.

He speaks well of his colleagues on the **Daily Worker** and of his and their efforts after Khrushchev's report to take the leadership of the Party away from the "Stalinists." He describes the rank and file of the party, "under oath if need be," as "pure souls, so many gentle and good people, so many men and women of utter integrity . . ."

BUT THE gentle people are rarely in his book. He is consumed with his battle as a writer against the Party leadership and what he believes was their attempt to destroy him as a writer, for "every writer, no matter how dedicated and loyal he may appear, is potentially the enemy and destroyer of the Party." The exchanges he describes are often petty, almost always nasty and stupid. They bring to mind the literary "evaluations" which appeared until recently in the Party publications—some of which read as though they'd been composed with meat cleavers. But Fast's contempt for this kind of criticism cannot banish the fact that his cleaver was one of the busiest of all.

The leaders did not tell him what to write, nor did they read his work in advance, except by accident, but, Fast says, they did try to make him change things under the threat of "destroying" his work. Whatever the threat, Fast's work was treated with almost unfailing critical generosity in the Party publications.

FAST'S REASONS for joining the Party are clear and valid for him as they have been for thousands of others who have been and gone: a deep-going desire to be a part of an organization that one believed was dedicated to building a nation and a world at peace, with equality of opportunity for all.

But the reasons he gives for having so long endured the torment he describes are not at all clear. Why did he wait so long? He seems rather annoyed with the reader for asking the question he anticipates. He says at different points:

"Serious people do not leap in and out of such organizations." . . . "If the power of belief is great, then I can assure you that the power of disbelief is also great." . . . "I began to take a perverse pride in the fact that I could not be broken. The strength that I exhibited is nothing to be proud of . . . my only virtue lies in that I continued to sin." . . "As I had sown so did I reap." . . . "The picture is overlaid by a complex of a hundred thousand threads."

Complex indeed the reasons are, but at base there is still this truth: No one forced him to join; no one forced him to stay; no one forced him to leave. The complexities would seem to be produced by the interplay between complicated human beings in an organizational setup that seemed to regard human beings as mechanisms to be directed as such. Each person's final determination whether to remain or not apparently rested on the degree of his involvement in the setup. Some were able to cope with their decision, others were not.

The reader asks another question: Why, if a man suffered such a history as Fast describes in the Communist Party U.S.A., did it require a speech by a leader of the Communist Party U.S.S.R. to cause him to make his move? That one speech seemed in addition to negate for Fast the tremendous achievements of the world socialist movement; at least they find little space in his story.

IN A REVIEW of such a book it is impossible to separate the work from the author, and I am sure that Fast, who lays great stress on the analytical process, will understand an attempt to go deeper into the affair. What emerges from the story is the sense of a man with a soaring ego who seems to regard himself as a figure of destiny. But in him again there must be "a complex of a hundred thousand threads" which still need unravelling for a full picture.

This is a man who can say of his own works: "It was taken to the hearts of the Negro people as was no other novel of our time" (**Freedom Road**). . . . "At the risk of being decidedly immodest, I will say that I feel it to be one of the best novels of the American Revolution to appear in recent years" (**The Proud and the Free**). And of **The Naked God:** "I know of no analysis of just this kind that has been written before, and I can sense that it may be of great consequence." And further:

"I think I did right in all those years in refusing to allow myself to be expelled. If I had allowed it to come to that . . . I would have lost all power to influence the hundreds of thousands the world over who today see themselves in much the same position as myself."

STILL ONE FEELS constrained to ask: Did Fast preserve himself for this mission, or did he resist because he was caught up by the power and prestige that his position gave him? Was he not, by his own admission, engaged in a power struggle, even if he does not call it that? Did he not seek to destroy others even as "they" tried to destroy him?

To one reviewer, this is the story, and it is still an unwritten story: How does it happen that human beings occupied with great ideals become warped in the struggle for these ideals?

The great ideals remain and the people working to achieve them, the world over, are constantly showing a surer understanding of them—and of one another. Surely there is no room for gods, naked or clothed, in the brotherhood of man; but one is left with the feeling from this book that, in the movement toward brotherhood, it will be the writer of the book who is left behind without cover.

—James Aronson

******THE NAKED GOD, by Howard Fast, Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 15 W. 47th St., New York 36, N.Y. 197 pp. $3.50.*

THE MAIL BAG

Good old friend

SEATTLE, WASH.

With pride and pleasure I noted that our weekly has begun its tenth year of honest, concise, courageous and highly readable coverage of the news. Hearty congratulations!

I read your preview issue with great interest at the first Progressive Party convention in Phila. in 1948. In the intervening tough years the GUARDIAN has supplied honest news and a fighting spirit (with humor, too!) that has been of inestimable benefit.

Peace, freedom and plenty are still goals to be achieved and I know that each week the GUARDIAN will continue to chronicle man's efforts toward abolition of violence, tyranny, spiritual and material poverty. And, as one reader, I will endeavor to bring NATIONAL GUARDIAN to the attention of fellow Americans who are increasingly sensing the gap between reality and a daily press befouled by distortions and omissions.

Lyle Mercer

For Melvin Hupman

CLARKSVILLE, O.

I am the wife of Melvin Hupman, Dayton, Ohio, shop worker and victim of a framed-up Taft-Hartley conviction. He will be spending his third Christmas in prison this year. The GUARDIAN has carried many fine articles and editorials on my husband's case over a period of five years, two trials and umpteen appeals. Warm responses and financial aid have come from GUARDIAN readers. My husband's third appeal is now before the Supreme Court and, as we have had to do so many times in the past, we are "sweating out" the wait for an answer.

My husband was eligible for parole in Jan. '57; however, all his applications have been denied up to now, even though he has a perfect prison record. He was assigned to the honor farm at the Lewisburg prison shortly after he was committeed and my request for his transfer to the Mill Point honor camp was granted by Mr. Bennett—all these privileges, but no parole.

Christmases past have been made a little easier for my husband because of the lovely greeting cards he has received in prison. He is given all his cards each time and last year his dormitory won the decoration prize, he said, because of the 100 beautiful cards he had received; they added their "home grown" decorations.

I say a heartfelt thank you and Merry Christmas to the GUARDIAN staff and readers from my husband and myself. Regulations are that my husband can only receive one package, from the immediate family. However, he can receive money, cash or money order, that is placed in his canteen account where he buys his own cigarettes, confections, toilet articles, etc. Address: Melvin Hupman, P.O. Box 30, Mill Point, W.Va.

Pearl Hupman

Puzzled

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The Conference held in Oakland on Nov. 16, sponsored by the Calif. Democratic Council and attended by delegates from affiliated clubs, passed several noteworthy resolutions which will be submitted to the Democratic Convention to be held in Fresno early next year as a basis for a Democratic Platform.

By contrast, a resolution on foreign policy was passed after an exhaustive discussion which resulted in the deletion of a sentence reading, "We recommend the admission of the Peoples' Republic of China to the UN."

I was puzzled! I could not understand why China which has the greatest human resource (650 millions) should be ostracized for a longer time. Is she still being penalized for volunteering to help an immediate neighbor (N. Korea) when she was attacked by S. Korea aided and abetted by superior American forces? If this be the reason for her ineligibility is it that Great Britain, France and Israel, which unitedly waged war on poor and backward Egypt recently, are considered as dignified members of the UN? And the U.S., despite her interventions in the affairs of the Philippines, Cuba, Mexico and Nicaragua years ago is now a leading member of the UN!

C. L. Jularbal

Lavoro, Roma

Police Department Band